

361 the small portion of country which they actually occupy; in this, resembling the Arikaras. They still consist of seven villages, five of Gros Ventres, and two of Mandans, in the distance of about fifteen miles. They are generally on good terms with each other, but at present there exist considerable dissensions and even open rupture. There is not the least affinity in their languages but the Gros Ventres is spoken by all the Mandans. According to the tradition of these last, who were originally of the Crow nation, owing to a quarrel between two chiefs, over the carcass of a buffalo which they had slain, a separation took place of the followers of each."

[191] His estimate of the space comprised in the general group of those villages, as above, is too large, as it was probably not more than about nine miles between their extremes. He was also probably in error in regarding the Gros Ventres as originally Crows—it would perhaps be nearer historical fact to say that part of them had, about the time of their arrival from eastward, joined the Crows. This point is not entirely clear, however.

000 Catlin's Account of Mandans. George Catlin, whose observations upon the Arikaras were brought out in Part I of this paper (S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, pp. 490-3), now comes in for consideration in order of time, in his more detailed treatment of the Mandans in many phases of their character. The space herein allotted to his very interesting description and deductions relative to that tribe, is believed to be justified, in view of the generally admitted fact that of all the visitors among and students of this most interesting tribe of Indians, none have written of them in strains so attractive as did he; while we believe that his exhaustive descriptions of their customs and their traditions concerning their religious ceremonies, including also their Flood legends, constituting undoubted classics, are instructive in a high degree, so much so that there seems to be but one way of presenting his impressions and conclusions in order to do him and the subject in hand justice, viz., by quoting his own language at every step, with but few deviations from that course. No attempt to summarize his views could result otherwise than in a garbling process which must be nothing short of unfair and sadly ineffectual in bringing before the reader or student what Catlin saw and

000 inclination to coalesce. The Mandan and Gros Ventre (or Minne-
 197 taree) languages are somewhat alike, and probably of a very dis-
 0191 tinct common origin; but no resemblance has yet been discovered
 between either of these and the Aricaree ('Ricaras'). Almost
 every member of each trib understands the languages of the
 other tribes, yet he speaks his own most fluently; so it is not an
 uncommon thing to hear a dialogue carried on in two languages,
 one person, for instance, questioning in Mandan, and the other
 answering back in Gros Ventre, and vice versa.

"Many of them understand the Dakota tongue, and use it as
 a means of intercommunication, and all understand the sign
 language. So, after all, they have no trouble in making them-
 selves understood by one another. These Indians must have ex-
 cellent memories and 'good capacity for study,' for it is not
 uncommon to find persons among them, some even under twenty
 years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different
 languages." (p. 17-18.)

As showing the aptness of the Rees and Mandans in working in
 glass or obsidian, Matthews says:

323 **Glass-Work—Beads.** "The articles of glass spoken of above
 301 are chiefly of two kinds. First, large, globular, or ellipsoidal
 beads; and, second, flat, irregularly triangular plates or pendants,
 which are glazed only on one side, and have a hole at the apex.
 The art of making these deserves more than a mere mention, since
 it is commonly believed that the aboriginal Americans, even the
 more civilized races, knew nothing of the manufacture of glass
 at the time of the Columbian discovery. The very earliest ethno-
 graphical account we have of the Aricarees and Mandans shows
 that they knew how to make glass beads; and there is no doubt
 that the process employed in 1804 was essentially the same as
 that employed today." (Here follows the account given by
 Lewis and Clarke, already set forth herein and quoted by Mat-
 thews; after which he resumes:)

Not Glass Product. "This art is now only occasionally prac-
 ticed in the village, and is mostly confined to the making of the
 flat triangular pendants. I have heard the process described in
 much the same way as in the above quotation. From this quota-
 tion, however, which is in part ambiguous, the inference might be
 drawn that the ornaments, when completed consist entirely of

could trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not a single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case and none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the change has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence of the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally converse among themselves in terms which younger members of the tribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they say they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.) 197

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a missionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C. Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans, whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said work, pages 271, et seq., the following: 114

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. Altogether, they numbered about two thousand souls. We had before this entertained the desire that we might be able to establish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming a kind of common language for them. 161 197 191●

"Howard Mandan, or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his Indian name is interpreted, was the son of Red Cow, the principal chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H. Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good many years and talked English well. 000

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

SECTION III.

LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Mandans is unquestionably of the Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock. The Hidatsa is perhaps nearest to the Mandan but even that differs materially both in vocabulary and grammatical construction. It has been said that the Winnebago resembles most closely the Mandan, but from a careful comparison with vocabularies containing over one hundred equivalents from some six or seven Siouan dialects it appears that this resemblance is not as great as that between the Winnebago and the Iowa.

197 The Mandans were excellent linguists and we are told by early travellers that they were accustomed to learn the languages of nearly all their neighbors, while very few of the other tribes ever learned Mandan. Such a condition was apt to bring about considerable change in the language, and very likely it did so. Maximilian was told by the old men that in their youth the Mandan and Hidatsa resembled each other much less than they did in 1834. The songs of the Okeepa and society dances were in an older language which no one but the medicine men and those whom they taught understood. And lastly at this time the Mandans in the two villages spoke different dialects. The ones on the south side of the river, who thus had more intercourse with the Hidatsa, spoke a dialect resembling that language more closely than did the dialect in the northern village. Words in the south village became shortened to resemble the more abrupt speech of the Hidatsa, and sound changes, notably that of *d* for *n*, crept in from the latter.

114 Information upon the Mandan language is exceedingly scarce and no very accurate or full grammatical sketch exists. Small vocabularies are found in many places, but these have

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

CLAN SYSTEM.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult (61) through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably (61) not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom [191] intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.¹

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,² while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.³ 177

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts. [197]

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,⁴ 197

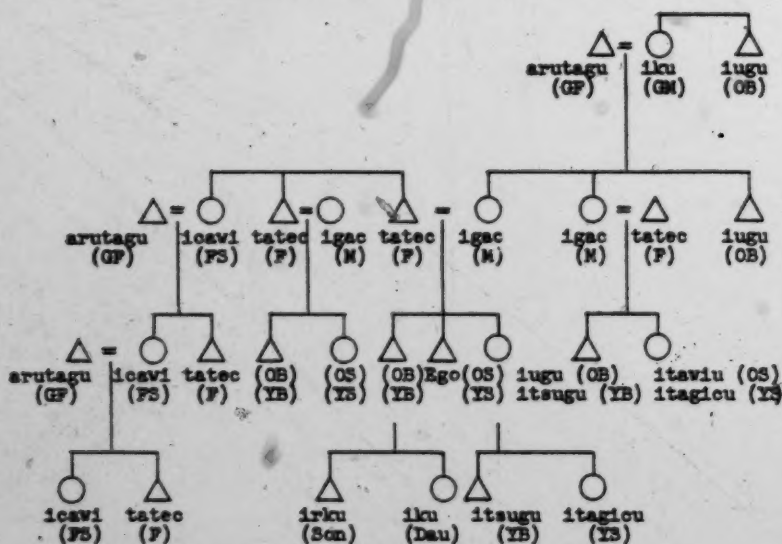
¹ It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.

² Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

³ Matthews, 371.

⁴ Handbook of American Indians, 1, 797.

Although Lone Hill is composed of members of the Hidatsa and the Mandan tribes, the Hidatsa language has become standard in the village while the Mandan language is rapidly becoming extinct. This may have been due to the small percentage of Mandan-speaking people in Lone Hill when the community was formed. The Crow terminology is used in the Indian language in daily face-to-face contact among most of the people in the village. The meanings and applications of the terms have not changed. Bowers (1950:1) notes that "the kinship system has been affected little by recent events." Figure 1 is based upon observations of usage throughout the village and was



(Note—For a female ego, sister's children are son and daughter.)

FIG. 1

checked by formal schedules obtained from 14 individuals: 8 males ages 34 to 70, and 6 females ages 23 to 60.

In certain situations the people of Lone Hill make a direct linguistic translation of the Crow terminology from the Indian language into the English language. Classificatory fathers are called uncle, classificatory mothers and fathers' sisters are called aunt, while niece, nephew, and cousin terms are applied indiscriminately and usually incorrectly from the white point of view. There are no uncle, cousin, niece, or nephew terms in the Indian language. Figure 2 is offered as an illustration—note particularly the descendants from the father's sister. As the diagram shows, the generation principle does not apply.

This use of English is not a variation of the Crow system but is rather the same system with an alternate language. The English kinship terms do not

form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian-Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village.

601
191●

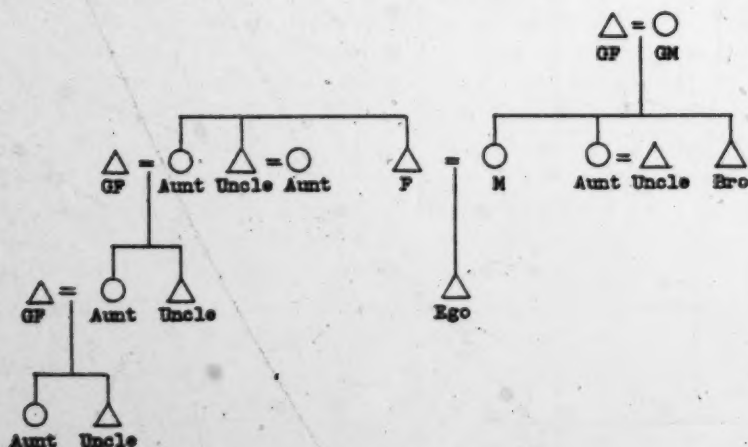


FIG. 2

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village.

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration.

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As shown in Figure 4, John Bear Leg is the child of a mixed Hidatsa-Arikara marriage. The family lives in Lone Hill and speaks only English at home as Mrs. Bear Leg, an Arikara woman, does not understand Hidatsa. While discussing kinship, John referred to his father's sister's daughter, Mary White Duck, by the term "sister" and told me, "That's the white way." This is incorrect, of course, as in the American way Mary would be a cousin to John, while in the Hidatsa way, she would be an *icawi* or father's sister. I became excited here, as I thought I had found a case of ironing out generation differences which would represent an internal shift in kinship type. Further inquiry revealed that John's Arikara mother had told him to regard Mary as a sister. Mrs. Bear Leg wants her son to take all of his relationships

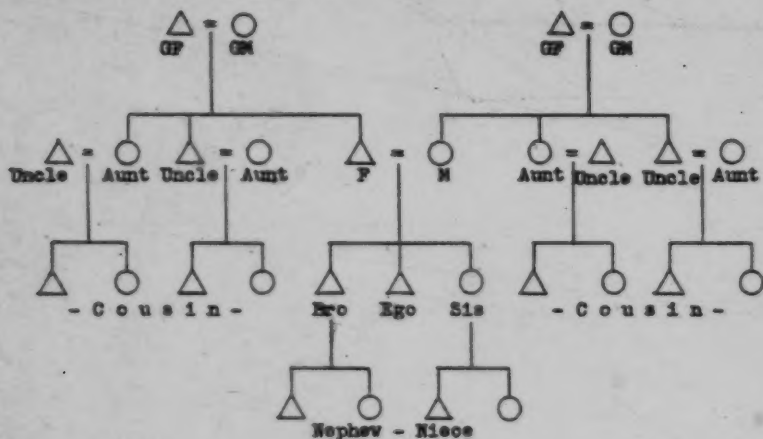


FIG. 3

in the Arikara way, and she attempts to teach him Arikara kinship. I checked with Mary, who informed me, "I know it's not right, but he calls me sister so I call him brother." The use of sibling terms for cross-cousins is one stage in Spoehr's series in the breakdown of a pure Crow system. But in this case it is a borrowed change introduced by an Arikara and not one that arose from the situation in Lone Hill.

John's total kinship pattern indicates that he follows Hidatsa usage with most of his father's relatives and Arikara usage with all of his mother's relatives, who reside in another village at Fort Berthold. As his mother seems to be the dominant member of the family in these matters, John also refers to some of his father's relatives according to the Arikara way. I pointed out this apparent confusion to John, who replied, "I still don't know about these relationships yet, except what they say to me. The old folks each tell me their way. I'm catching on slow but sure." The net result of this situation is that while John knows how to interact with each specific relative he does not have a consistent total kinship system. John, now 24 years old, understands neither

BRUNER] *Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology*

845

the Hidatsa, Arikara, nor the white kinship pattern. His case illustrates the confusion found among the children of mixed marriages in which the parents have not established a clear-cut identification with any one social system.

To summarize thus far, the two kinship patterns found in Lone Hill are: (1) the traditional Crow terminological system, which remains the basic-type for the village and has not changed, at least since 1862 when Morgan first gathered Mandan and Hidatsa kinship terms; and (2) a white generational system employed primarily by the acculturated families. There is also a separate set of English terms used in the Crow pattern for the benefit of outsiders and an inconsistent terminological pattern in some Indian homes in which a member of an alien tribe has come to Lone Hill through marriage.

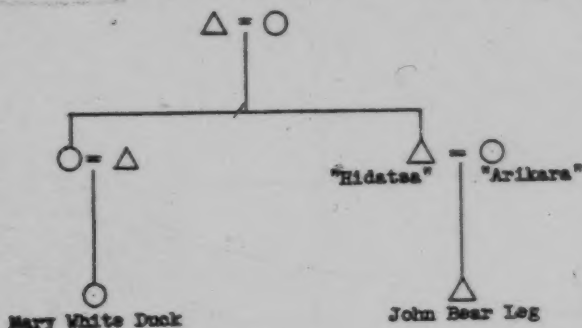


FIG. 4

TWO PROCESSES

These data, considered in conjunction with the findings of Spoehr and of the Schmitts, indicate that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and progressive shift in type. This process is best illustrated by Spoehr's complete series in the transition from a pure Crow to an American generation type. Although the shift described by Spoehr was an indirect result of acculturative factors, the slow modification of a social structure may be due to internal forces that are not necessarily associated with culture contact (Eggan 1941; Gough 1952). The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. In the second case, reported upon in this paper, the Indian and the white systems exist simultaneously without intermediate variations in kinship patterns.

Both processes of change, slow modification and sudden transformation, occur together in Lone Hill—and they also take place together among the Southeastern tribes. Spoehr emphasized the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow lineage system but he also recognized the more rapid type of kinship change (1947:196). The Mandan-Hidatsa seem to differ from the Southeastern tribes in terms of the relative importance of each process.

177 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the
175 formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing
177 machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

191 Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa
601 is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial
614 dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

177 parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to
 367 become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably else-
 where are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part
 dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural trans-
 mission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past.
 This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language
 191 learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa
 84 is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the
 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the
 village that, as one informant expressed it, "... it is confusing for a child to
 learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual
 community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their
 offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing
 those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed
 to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside
 the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

NQ10 Crow NQ10

Hidatsa NQ14

MANDAN NQ17

[p 169 (A)]

Wednesday, June 11, 120 miles
above Fort Union

C
126

This morning we shot two antelope and brought them on the boat. They have no horns at this season and are shedding their hair. In some places the skin is bare and the hair comes off in handfuls. They are a fine looking animal and much larger than I expected. They are nearly as large as the common deer, white bellies and white around and below the tail which is flat and short.

C
124

Had another long talk with Meldrum this morning on several subjects. Obtained the Minnetare tribes [clans] and law of descent, also the Crow method of bestowing and changing names, and also in the changes in language, which are given below.

H
614

*Minnetare Tribes [Clans], Gros Ventres of Missouri*¹²³

1. Mit'-che-ro-ka Knife Tribe
2. Min-ne-pā'-ta Water "
3. Seech'-ka-be-run-pā'-ka Prairie chicken
4. E-tish-sho'-ka People of the Hills
5. Ah-mah'-ha-nā'-me-ta Meaning lost—
6. E-ku'-pā-be-ka Low Hat, or Bonnet
7. Bā-ho-hā'-ta Dirt Lodges

H
[582]
[611]
[429]

All the individuals of the tribe are consanguine. No man or woman can marry a person in his own tribe and the children are of the tribe of the mother. They carry out the law of female line succession as to chief and property, the same as the Crow. These facts were obtained by Meldrum from the Minnetare chief on board, who talks Crow and with whom and the two Crow young men I made the first attempt at a Crow schedule.

H
115

Mandan Tribes [Clans]

M
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611
191

The Mandans he says are divided into tribes and have descent in the female line, the same as the Minnetares, but he could

¹²³ [Morgan lists these clans in Ancient Society,
p. 159 -- ANALYST]

[p169(B)]

M
614 not talk Mandan.¹²⁹ None of the Minnetares
611 talk Mandan, but the latter talk the former.
191
Crows Change Their Names and Manner of
Christening

C
553 A few days after a child is born, usually
[602] about six, there is a family council of the
relatives on the father's side who give the
name, instead of the mother's tribal rela-
tives. The person who is to give the name
places roots of some kind upon coals of fire
and as the smoke ascends, the child is
placed in his hands by the mother. He then
holds him in the smoke and at the same
time announces the name which he gives
the child. He raises him up gently in the
rising smoke towards heaven and invokes

[782]
129
A [About a week later Morgan
ascertained and recorded names of
MANDAN clans. -- ANALYST]